Hib. 7. 690. 5

THE Second Apology FOR THE PROTESTANTS OF IRELAND,

By the Author of the First.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY 1870 BRASSILIA

SHEWING

The Necessity of their Flight and Desertion; And that the present Destruction of *Ireland* hath conduced to the Safety and Preservation of *England*.

In a Letter to Sir O. S.

SIR,

YOU have done me that Injury which you never intended me; you have deprived me of a Nights-sleep. For while I revolved in my mind your Discourse concerning the *Protestants of Ireland*; the most uncharitable judgment past upon their *Afflictions*; and the too visible disregard of their *Persons*, and slight esteem of their *service*; I could gain no rest to my thoughts, nor slumber to my eyes.

That the *Protestants of Ireland* prompted by an ill-tim'd aversion to the *Popish Religion*, and precipitated by an over-hasty zeal for their *own*, have abandon'd their Habitations and Properties, and become Sojourners in other Lands; and thereby are exposed to the *charity and compassion* of some, and to the

ſcorn and contempt of others; is ſo notoriouſly evident, that it needs no Arguments to enforce the proof of it; but that their Retreat into *England* and *Scotland*, and a prudential Endeavour for ſelf-preſervation, ſhould be ſo unkindly interpreted, and their Behaviour ſubjected to a Cenſure ſo groundleſs, and ſo unequal; is no way conſonant to the calm dictates of Reaſon, nor reconcileable to the common ſentiments of Humanity. To hear them ſtigmatized by their Enemies with the ugly Character of Rebels and Traytors; proſcribed by Proclamation, their Eſtates confiſcated, their Goods plunder'd, and their Houſes and Plantations burnt and deſtroy'd, is ſupportable from the Glory and Satisfaction of ſuffering in a good Cauſe; to hear them condemn'd and curs'd by their implacable Enemies the Papiſts; or lamented by the invidious pity of lukewarm and male-contented Proteſtants (who under a pretence of a nice, and undiſpenſible Allegiance, do grumble at the *preſent* Government, yet from their Hearts dare not wiſh it in the hands of another) is neither the ſubject of their wonder nor trouble. But that any Proteſtants of *England* (whom the Ligaments of the ſame Religion and Blood have inſeparably conjoyn'd in one Intereſt) ſhould diſcover not only an inſenſibility of our miſeries; but aggravate them by Miſpriſion and contempt; not only arraign our *Actions*, but miſ-judge our *Sufferings*; is a contemplation ſo abſtruſe, and ſo grievous, that it would require the *wiſdom of Solomon* to underſtand it, and the *Patience of Job* to bear it. Yet all this is out done by a meer ſenſible ſtroke of misfortune; we are upbraided with the King's *Indifferency* toward us (to give it no worſe a name). And becauſe for Reaſons and Conſiderations beſt known to himſelf, he hath thought it fit to command the Service of Strangers and Foreigners, while the Gentlemen of *Ireland* walk the Streets neglected, and unimploy'd; it is maliciouſly imputed to his diſlike of their Proceedings; as if unconſtrain'd, and out of pure wantonneſs they had left their own Conntry, to take the Air in this; deſerted the conveniency of a cheap *dwelling at Home*; to pay dear for *Lodgings in London*; given up their Stock and Wealth to the luſt of their *Enemies*, only to make Experiment of the *mercy of their Friends*; caſt off the Homage of their Tenants, and trifled away their own *Revenue*, only to become Penſioners to the *Poor-mans* Box, and the *Brief-money*.

To

07-1554

To undeceive that ſort of men, who are miſled by Information, and whoſe judgments are not diſtorted by prejudice, deſign or paſſion, I offer the merit of the following *Conſiderations.*

Firſt, *That* Ireland *was actually under the Dominion and Exerciſe of Popery, when* England *was only perplexed with the proſpect and apprehenſion of it.*

2ly, *That there lay a neceſſity upon the Proteſtants of* Ireland *to relinquiſh and fly, or to comply and ſubmit.*

3ly, *That the Submiſſion and Compliance of the Proteſtants in* Ireland, *had unavoidably tended to the ruin of* England.

4ly, *That the Ruin and Deſtruction of* Ireland *has proved the means, and occaſion of ſaving and preſerving* England.

5ly, *That the Proteſtants of* Ireland *had begun later, or perſever'd longer in their Oppoſition to the Popiſh Government, if they had not been aſſured of Succours and Supplies from* England, *and diſappointed in their expectation.*

6ly, *That the general adherence of the Proteſtants in* England *to King* William *at his Landing, was not ſo important in the Enterprize, nor ſo advantageous in the Event, as the Univerſal Defection of the Proteſtants in* Ireland *from King* James, *before and after his Arrival there.*

But that I may not proceed Dogmatically, or be ſuſpected of ſo much Arrogance, as to look for an implicite Aſſent to theſe Aſſertions, without a more ſatisfactory Explication of them: I ſhall endeavour to illuſtrate the *Particulars* very faithfully, and very briefly.

1. To demonſtrate the firſt, there needs little pains to be taken; he that will read the *Apology for the Proteſtants of Ireland*, and that exquiſite Treatiſe call'd *Mephiboſeth and Ziba*, and other Papers written ſince the late Revolution, will eaſily be convinced of the Truth of one part of that Propoſition, the other part is ſo freſh in every mans memory, that it were a vanity to inſiſt upon the proof of it. The *Proteſtants in Ireland* were not only diſarm'd, and their Arms put into the hands of the *Papiſts*; the Military and Civil Liſt compounded of furious and inveterate Bigots; the *Act of Settlement* eluded, and the Corporations poyſon'd with a Crew of Landleſs, Lawleſs, ſenſeleſs Intruders; but in deſpight and ſcorn of the Law, the Fopperies of the *Maſs* were openly repreſented, the Properties of the Church invaded, and the Land infeſted with Swarms of Jeſuits, Friers, and all ſorts and Orders of Regulars; while *England* was only alarm'd with the humming noiſe of the approaching danger, and awakened to a timely Pre-

paration against the secret Mines to overthrow her *Charters*, and the frequent Attacks made upon the *Test and Penal Laws*.

2. Now when by the permission of Divine Providence, and the subtil contrivance of those in Authority, the poor *Protestants of Ireland* were rendred defenceless, and utterly uncapable to make Resistance; they must indubitably be reduced to that fatal Dilemma of complying with the Government, or withdrawing from the malevolent influence and tyranny of it.

3. But had they been besotted with a supine submission to such exorbitant Incroachments; had they continued in their Possessions, and truckled to the Arbitrary Commands of those insolent *Popish Bashaws*; how had the Hands of the *late King* been strengthened? his Army readily maintain'd by plentiful Contributions, and continually supported by fresh Recruits? nay had they been indulged to remain in a cold *Neutrality*, and permitted only to be Lookers on (as in all probability the dread of their Number and Strength, would have induced the other chearfully and gladly to consent) what visible Impediment can there appear to have hindred the Invasion of *England* by a numerous and potent Army? the success whereof tho it had not terminated in a plenary Conquest (which God grant may never be the fate of that renowned and happy Country) yet the ruin and desolation that would have attended the Impressions of a rejected Prince, seconded by the remorseless Troops of barbarous *Irish and French* (who have sufficiently testified the delight they take in Burning and Devastation) is not lyable to the description of any Pen. If the obstinate standing out of that single City of *London-Derry* gave so wonderful a Diversion to the Enemies Progress; how swiftly had he moved, and without controll, to the reinstating himself in the Thrones of *Scotland and England*; if the Gates of that place had not been shut, and the *Irish* Garrison had been admitted in it? If the Courage of those gallant Refugees in *Eniskillin* had been allay'd by a Compliance and Submission on Terms of the greatest Advantage; the forlorn party that invaded *Scotland* had swell'd to a vast Army, miserably embroil'd that Kingdom, and done irreparable *damage to this*.

4. The Proof and Confirmation of the next Assertion is couch'd and comprehended in the former. If some of the *Protestants of Ireland* had not considerately removed themselves with their Plate, Money and Effects, by a lucky foresight of the Tragical Consequences of their stay. If others (out of an abhorrence of Popery, and concurring with the Resolutions of *England*) had not voluntatily

tarily renounced their Allegiance to a depoſed *King*, broken up Houſe, retrenched their Families, diſbanded their Followers, and with much difficulty and hazard tranſplanted their Perſons into *England and Scotland*; it is apparent how conſiderable an Acceſſion this had brought to the preſent Poſſeſſor; whereas by the ſubſtraction of their wealth, and the withdrawing their Perſons, the *Iriſh* Intereſt has been in a great meaſure impaired, tho to the unſpeakable detriment of them that eſcaped. To this let me add, that if the confident aſſurance of the intire poſſeſſion of *Ireland*, and thereby ſecuring a Retreat, and Harbour for the *French* Fleet, had not amuſed that unfortunate Prince, and prorogued the Invaſion of *England* (which beyond doubt can never be ſafe while *Ireland* is ſubjected to its Enemy) he had long ſince diſputed his Title upon the ſpot, and endeavoured to retaliate that vengeance upon the *Engliſh*, which has been intail'd on the *Iriſh* Families, and tranſmitted from one Generation to another ſince the time of *their Conqueſt*.

5. To evince the Truth of what is next aſſerted, I muſt appeal to the Gentlemen of the ſeveral Provinces in *Ireland*, whether they were not continually flatter'd with promiſes of *Commiſſions, Men, Money and Arms from England*; whether every puff of wind that aroſe from any point of the *Eaſt* or *South*, did not infuſe freſh life into their drooping Spirits? Whether they did not hourly expect the Landing of ſome *Engliſh* or *Dutch* Forces to cover and conduct them, while the ſame methods practiſed in *England* for the reſtitution and eſtabliſhment of Religion, might be reacted there? It was this that animated and inſpired the Inhabitants of *London-Derry* (the laſt ſtake and pledg of the *Proteſtant Intereſt in Ireland*) with ſo much precipitation to ſhut their Gates, and keep out a *Popiſh* Regiment juſt approaching to enter the City, upon the ſeventh day of *December* 1688, and ſtoutly to maintain it, till by Capitulation it was made a *Proteſtant Garriſon*. This encouraged the People of *Eniskillin*, in imitation of them, to ſhut their Gates on the 11*th*. of *December* following, and to refuſe the Entrance of two *Iriſh* Companies, appointed to have their Quarters there. This made the *Proteſtants in Munſter* aſſemble with what Horſe and Foot they could call together, to avoid a *Maſſacre*, and to joyn with ſuch Forces from *England*, as might reſcue them from the Tyranny and Slavery under which they lay proſtrate. This occaſion'd the *Aſſociation* publiſh'd in *Conaght* by the *Lord Kingſton* and the *Proteſtants* who had been plunder'd of their Goods and Stock, and were forced for ſafety of their Lives, to retreat to *Sligo*, no way doubting

of

of immediate ſuccour and relief from *England*. This brought forth that *Declaration* of the Gentlemen in the Counties of *Down*, and *Antrim*, who having imploy'd Agents into *England*, and received repeated Aſſurances of a ſpeedy and vigorous Aſſiſtance, began to form themſelves into Regiments, and to prepare for their Defence againſt a vaſt *Iriſh Army* then formed, and threatning to break in upon them. Thus in all Parts the *Proteſtants* ſtood upon their Guard, longing, and languiſhing for Help and Relief from *England*: but miſerably failing in their expectation, and the *Iriſh Army* preſſing into their Frontiers, while they were utterly deſtituté of Arms and Ammunition, the Men raw and undiſciplin'd, and no experienced Commanders among them; they were conſtrain'd to fly before their bloody and inraged Enemies, leaving their Houſes furniſh'd, and their Goods and Stock as a Prey to them: which in all humane Probability had eaſily been prevented, if they had not depended on the promiſed Aid from *England*.

6. I have no intent to leſſen or extenuate the noble Undertaking, and prudent Conduct of the *Lords and Gentlemen of England*, in their Invitation, and Conjunction with the *Prince* of *Orange*, to redeem the Nation from the Tyranny of Popery, Slavery, and Arbitrary Government; and placing the *preſent King* in the *vacant Throne* of Him, who ſpontaneouſly *Abdicated the Government*. It was a glorious, and a grateful Action; all the *Proteſtants* in *Europe* rejoyce at it; and Poſterity will praiſe their Doings. Nevertheleſs I am bold to ſay, that the publick appearance of the *Proteſtants in England*, to abet the Deſign of *King William*, and to follow His Fortune, was neither ſo important at the Time of acting, nor of ſuch Advantage in the Conſequences, to incourage the *Proteſtant* Party, and to diſanimate the *Popiſh*: as the early and univerſal Defection of the *Proteſtants in Ireland* from the Command and Government of the *late King James*. This will appear evidently, if we conſider the State and Circumſtances of the two Kingdoms, and, ſetting both in a true Light, paſs an impartial Judgment on each of them. When the *Prince of Orange* arrived in *England*, He came into a Country, where *Popery* was an uneaſie Nuſance, obtruded by Craft, and diffuſed in Corners; where there was a Royal Army on Foot of Principles quite contrary to it; and the Number of *Proteſtants* exceeded that of the *Papiſts*, in the Proportion of Two hundred to one: Whereas, when *King James* Landed in *Ireland*, He found Popery predominant, and eſtabliſh-

ed

ed by *Force*, tho' againſt *Law*; an Army of Forty thouſand deſperate Papiſts, under the Command of bigotted and inexorable Leaders, with a Rabble of as many, arm'd (tho' not for Fighting, yet) for Rapine and Plunder, and which ſerved as a Seminary for the furniſhing of Recruits; the Papiſts exceeding the Proteſtants in Number, more than three to one. In *England*, tho' the Militia was diſcountenanced, and diſuſed from Exerciſe, yet they retain'd their Arms; and the *Proteſtants* through the Kingdom kept what they had, without Inſpection, or Prohibition; and they continued Maſters of their own Horſes: whereas in *Ireland* the *Proteſtants* were utterly diſarm'd, (thoſe of the *Church of England* by a ſtrict Proclamation requiring all Officers of the Militia to deliver in the Arms of their Troops and Companies into the next Store, under a ſevere Penalty; and the *Diſſenters* by a poſitive Order from the Government to take away all Arms from ſuch as did not go to Church) their Horſes taken from them, not leaving a pad Nag to ride on, and proſecuted as Rebels, upon Refuſal. It is true, in *England* there was an Invaſion made upon their *Charters*, and Men were here and there thruſt in of looſe and Atheiſtical Principles; ſome injurious and illegal Attempts were made on the *Univerſities*; and the Reverend *Biſhops* (the Pillars of the Church, and Champions of our Religion) were affronted, and impeached; the *Magiſtracy* was cloſetted, threatned, and ſome arbitrarily ſuperſeded; at the Helm of Government ſome were prickt in, who being actuated by no Inſtinct of Conſcience, or Honour, joyn'd in a Conſpiracy againſt the Laws and Liberty of the Country, and, like inanimate Tools, were imploy'd in the Propagation of the *Catholick Cauſe*: but in *Ireland* the *Corporations* were ſtuff'd with *Iriſh Papiſts*, with Rebels, and the Sons of thoſe Murdering Rebels in 1641; tho' *Prieſts* were not actually inſtituted and inducted into the *Church Livings*, yet they were placed in every *Pariſh*, and the *Maſs-Houſe* confronted the *Church*; tho' *Popiſh Biſhops* were not actually inaugurated in the *Sees*, yet they received the Profits of vacant *Biſhopricks*; the Revenue was managed by Papiſts; the Commiſſion of the Peace entruſted to them, and generally to them only; the Sword of State placed in the hands of the *Earl* of *Tyrconnel*; and the Majority of the *Privy-Council* made up of ſworn Enemies to the *Proteſtant Religion*: So that to work a Change in *England*, was neither ſo difficult nor hazardous in the Attempt, nor ſo remarkable in the Revolution; as the bold Adventure of the *Proteſtants in Ireland* under all Moral and Political Diſabilities to capaci-

capacitate them for such an Undertaking. And whereas the Acclamations of the People in *England*, the Desertion of the Army, and the general adherence of the Nobility and Gentry to the *Prince of Orange* at His Landing, prevented a Civil War, and the Effusion of Blood, and the *present King* became quietly vested in the Throne, and Government; the universal Defection of the *Protestants in Ireland* assured and established Him in the Possession; since by these means *King James* was not onely deprived of the Aid and Strength of *Two hundred thousand Men*, but by the stout opposition made in *London-Derry*, *Eniskillin*, and other Places, His Affairs were wholly embroyl'd, His Designs frustrated, and his determin'd Invasion of *Scotland*, and an uninterrupted Progress into *England*, absolutely prevented, and defeated.

It is altogether superfluous in me to offer these Things to your Consideration, who have so great a Sense and Knowledge of Affairs, and are better furnished with useful Notions and Remarks upon all Publick Transactions. But I have done it to comply with your Commands: and if you will give your Self the Trouble to supervise and correct this hasty and imperfect Essay, and render it fit for the View of others; possibly they may be convinced, that the Protestants in *Ireland* have super-errogated in their Zeal to Religion and the present Government, tho' they have been *Self-Homicides of your own Fortunes and Estates*; and that they do unquestionably deserve rather to be reputed Living Martyrs for their Religion and their King, than to be traduced with a needless Removal of their Persons hither, and an unaccountable Reason of their stay here. And I am no less confident, that when it shall please His Majesty to suffer Himself to be undeceived, He will find it requisite to countenance and smile upon a great Number of Men, who to their own certain Ruin, and without the least prospect of future Advantage, have abandon'd all, and run into a voluntary Exile, to serve Him, or to avoid the Necessity of serving His Enemy; and that he will judge it expedient, if not necessary, to put Armies into their Hands, (who best know how to deal with the *Irish*) whom *Self-Interest* corroborated by immovable *Fidelity* and *Loyalty*, will inspire with an Opportunity to promote the speedy and effectual Reduction of the miserably harassed Kingdom. I am,

SIR,

Your most Humble Servant, G. P.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY BRIDSHAW COLL.

Licens'd, Jan. 27. 168[illegible]. *J. F.*

LONDON: Printed for *Tim. Goodwin* at the *Maiden-head* in *Fleet-street*. 1690.